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THE DISTRIBUTION OF HELLENIC TEMPLES.

The following paper¹ has the special purpose of measuring the reverence paid to each Greek divinity by means of the number of temples dedicated to its worship ; and, secondly, of showing in what parts of Hellas temples were most numerous, and what deduction can be drawn therefrom in regard to the relative size of Greek towns. Many shrines and temples have undoubtedly vanished without leaving any tradition of their existence, so that, on this account alone, data about Hellenic temples are necessarily incomplete. Most of the temples with which we are acquainted lie scattered through the whole volume of Greek literature ; thickly sown in some places, in others, again, so sparsely that the labor of collecting them would hardly be repaid by the greater exactness of the results.

An average has been sought by examining representative records of three general classes. First, the ancient geographers : they, especially such as are animated by an antiquarian spirit, give the best and fullest information. Second, historians, who often notice, rather by chance than otherwise, a shrine or temple because it was the scene of some action they describe. Finally, inscriptions, especially public decrees, usually contain a clause directing that they shall be set up in some shrine, where they would be more secure than elsewhere. The chief source of information has been Pausanias. He mentions perhaps three times as many temples as any other ancient writer, and consequently our knowledge of most Greek temples represents them as they stood in the light of the second century A. D. But Pausanias does not extend beyond Greece itself, so, in order to fill out the picture for the colonies, Strabo has to be put under contribution, and this especially for his native country, Asia Minor. The authors termed collectively *Geographi Minores*, and the *De Urbibus* of Stephanos of Byzantion add a few temples not mentioned by Pausanias and Strabo. The historians Herodotos, Thoukydides, and Xenophon supply almost nothing, but Polybios and Diodoros give a considerable number not mentioned by

¹ The preparation of this paper was suggested to me, while Fellow in Archæology at Princeton College, by Professor Marquand. Although the collection of materials on which it rests is not exhaustive, it is believed to be sufficient to justify its conclusions.

the others : Diodoros does so especially for his native country, Sicily. The inscriptions that have been put under contribution are those contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, and in the publications of the French and German Schools at Athens. From these various sources there have been gathered notices of over 1300 temples and shrines, of which certainly 1280 are attributed to some divinity. These are probably quite sufficient to show how Greek temples were distributed among the various divinities. As a second object the same collection may be used, though with less certainty, to show how the temples were scattered over the Greek world, and in what spots they were specially numerous.

First, then, in regard to the divinities to whose worship Greek temples and shrines are usually consecrated. **APOLLON** stands at the head of all. Artemis and he together have more shrines than any other three divinities. Apollon is held in special honor in the Greek Islands (chiefly Krete, Delos, Rhodos), which devote twenty percent of their temples to him. The coast towns of Asia Minor, more particularly those of the Troad, come next in preferring him, and after them Northern Greece ; but the Peloponnesos has more temples of Artemis, and also of **ATHENA**, who comes third in rank. Besides receiving the greatest number, Apollon also seems to have had the richest shrines, and no other god could show such treasures as were preserved at Branchidai, Delos, and Delphoi when these towns were in their glory. **ARTEMIS** is the second in general favor, although Athena has rather more temples in the Islands (except Krete) and in Northern Greece. The worship of Artemis is most prevalent in Arkadia, Elis, and Achaia, where hunting was better than in other parts of Greece and agriculture less good. Ephesos may have been her most famous shrine, but Lydia as a whole seems to have given equal honor to Athena. **ZEUS**, the fourth deity, is mostly represented in the Doric Islands. Sicily, Krete, and Rhodos give him about fifteen percent of their temples ; and he is there second only to Apollon. Karia comes next after the Islands, but the Ionic and Aiolic parts of Asia Minor are less favorable to him. On the mainland of Greece, Boiotia, Arkadia, and Lakonikê give him many shrines ; but Messenia only one, and Phokis none at all. **APHRODITÉ**, the fifth, has most of her shrines in Argolis, Arkadia, and Attika. She is but slightly represented in the Islands (except the half-Hellenized Kypros), and rarely also in Lakonikê, Messenia, and Phokis. **DEMETER**, the sixth in degree of favor, has her home in Boiotia, Arka-

dia, and Attika ; though her temples are also sparsely found in Argolis and the district around Korinthos. **DIONYSOS** comes next after Demeter in number of shrines, and, besides this, he is worshipped in much the same localities, as might be expected from his connection with the mysteries. **ASKLEPIOS**, the eighth, closely follows Dionysos, but belongs almost wholly to the Peloponnesos, especially to Lakonikê, Messenia, and Arkadia. In Boiotia, he seems to have had no shrine at all, and is only slightly represented in Phokis, Krete, and Attika. **POSEIDON** is worshipped chiefly in Achaia and Argolis, but in general his worship is widely scattered. **HERA**, the tenth, is honored in Argolis and the district of Korinthos, as well as in the Italic colonies. **KYBELE** is naturally frequent in Lydia and Mysia, but sporadic and at distant intervals in Greece. **HERAKLES**, the twelfth, is mostly honored in Boiotia, where he is quite as frequent as any of the greater deities. His cult seems altogether absent from Argolis (precinct of Hera), and is very rare elsewhere. **EILEITHYIA** is found chiefly in Argolis, Achaia, and Krete. Less than one percent of all the temples belong to the **DIOSKOUROI**, who have shrines in Argolis, Arkadia, and Lakonikê. **TYCHE** prevails in Korinthos and Argolis, and usually represents the Roman Fortuna. **HERMES** occurs several times in Boiotia and Arkadia, but is otherwise very rare. **PAN** is honored in Arkadia and Attika ; **KORÉ** in Italy and Sicily, but elsewhere her shrines are much scattered, and she is in most cases counted with Demeter, since they often have a temple in common. **ARES** is found to prevail in Argolis and Attika, **PLOUTON** in Elis, the **MOIRAI** in Lakonikê, **GÉ** in Attika and Lakonikê. The other gods, goddesses, and heroes are too rare to merit separate mention. Foreign gods represented by Isis, Sarapis, Atargatis, Men, and several others have not been counted. Their shrines are about $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the whole number in the late period to which our sources belong. In regard to rank, thirty-four percent of all the shrines and temples belong to secondary divinities ; sixty-six percent to the twelve greater gods. The minor heroes (excluding Herakles by this term) are found to be very frequent in Lakonikê and Attika. Sparta has some twenty-eight heroä, and Athens sixteen, but in the other states they are comparatively rare.

In regard to the sex of the divinities, just the same number of temples and shrines belong to goddesses as to gods. Of the twelve greater deities, more belong to goddesses : namely, fifty-seven percent to forty-

three.² In the hero-class it is found that almost all are male; and shrines of heroines, such as Helena and Kassandra, are quite rare.

Our second point was to consider the distribution of shrines and temples over the districts and towns of Greece, and the indications thus given of their population. In view of our lack of information about the size of most of the smaller towns, the number of shrines becomes almost the only available basis for conjecture as to their relative magnitude, and this, owing to the lateness of our sources, chiefly for the period immediately before and after the Christian era. Against the accuracy of this proportion it may be urged that we are not acquainted with the whole number of temples; that they often exist long after the population of the town has greatly decreased. Some temples are situated on uninhabited mountains or in very secluded spots; and others, like the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, seem to absorb all the religious energy of the community and leave no room for the growth of minor shrines. Temples were sometimes built in obedience to oracles or dreams, and in such cases would seem to be not at all dependent upon population.

These objections are to some extent valid, but, though they impair, do not entirely destroy the truth of the proposition, that, in general, the number of temples is in proportion to the number of people. We have no detailed account of the temples in Asia such as there is for Greece, so that only in the mother-country can any argument as to population be safely drawn from the number of known temples. Pausanias has given us the names of so many shrines that it is probable we have almost all of those above a certain size in the districts over which his guide-book carries us. He occasionally mentions a temple in ruins; and, no doubt, the name clung for a long time to the site after the worshippers were gone. Consequently, the number of temples is more strictly related to the population of a town at a period somewhat before the time when Pausanias visited it. If a town had been burnt or razed, then the temples would date back to its most flourishing period since that catastrophe. Thus, our list of Greek temples would seem to show that it represented the condition of Greece rather before the

² This excess of shrines dedicated to goddesses may show that the majority of worshippers were women, at least in this late period of Greek history to which Pausanias and Strabo belong. The extent to which the convenience of women was consulted in religious matters at this time is illustrated by the objection which Vitruvius (III.2) had to the so-called pycnostyle temple; viz., that women had to let go each others arms in passing between its crowded columns.

Christian era, perhaps as much as one or two centuries before, inasmuch as temples to the emperors and to various foreign gods were presumably the only new ones built after the beginning of the empire.

Taking the statistics for the various districts of Greece, Lakonikê is found to be in the front with 155 temples and shrines ; next come Arkadia with 145, Attika with 133, Argolis with 116, Boiotia with 70, Achaia and Korinthos with about 68 each, and then, in order, Elis, Messenia, Phokis, Lokris (including the smaller Greek states), and Thessaly. The importance of Lakonikê and Arkadia is to be expected, on account of their large size and the great number of towns they contain. Then, too, they were more remote from attack by land ; and, during the conquest of Greece by Macedon and Rome, Sparta and the larger Arkadian towns resisted just enough to make terms with the conquerors, but not enough to enrage them. Thebes and Korinthos, on the other hand, had been entirely destroyed ; and Athens had been greatly injured when stormed by Sulla.

The number of temples in the larger cities of each Greek state is as follows : Sparta 84, Athens 71, Argos 36, Megalopolis 32, Megara 26, Sikyon and Hermione 23 each, Patrai 20, Tegea 19, Korinthos, Troizen, and Olympia 17 each, Thebes and Mantinea 16 each. Only the acropolis of Thebes was inhabited during this period, and the city itself had shrunk more than any other capital in Greece, whereas Lebadeia and Tanagra had risen to be important towns. As if in confirmation of this historical tradition, the number of their temples places them second and fourth among the towns of Boiotia. Megara, to judge by its temples, was then the fifth city in Greece ; a position it probably owes in part to the favor of Hadrian. Sikyon may have grown in population at the expense of Korinthos, as it did in territory ; since, according to the number of its shrines, it was larger than its neighbor, although Korinth was the seat of the Roman government in Greece. Strabo (377), in a passage where he is evidently speaking of the Peloponnesos, calls Argos the city next in rank to Sparta. Megalopolis he considers the largest city in Arkadia ; and this must have been especially true at a somewhat earlier period than that for which he writes. Next after Megalopolis came Tegea, but Mantinea and the other Arkadian towns he describes as already falling in ruins. In Argolis, both Hermione and Troizen are described (373) as very considerable (*οὐκ ἄσχημοι*) cities. In regard to the size of the smaller cities of Greece, we are in most cases left without any historical statements ; so that the number

of temples they contain is almost the only clue there is by which to determine their relative importance. By the number of temples a city contains, erroneous impressions as to its size may perhaps also be corrected. Thus, Delphoi and Eleusis, on account of their fame and importance in Greek history, might be considered large towns; but the few temples they possessed point to a very small resident population.

In regard to the Greek Islands and colonies, our information about the temples is far less complete. Such as it is, it shows Sicily at the head, with Krete next, though at some distance below. After these two islands come Aigina, Rhodos, Euboia, Delos, Lesbos, and Samos, in this order: but probably Aigina owes its high position to the fact that it alone is described by Pausanias, while the others depend on less thorough sources. Of the cities in Asia Minor, Smyrna leads, and after it comes Pergamon, followed by Kyzikos, Halikarnassos, Mylasa, Miletos, Teos, Erythrai. It is from Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv.55) that we obtain the best view of the condition of these towns under the Empire. He relates an occurrence of A. D. 23, when eleven of them sued for permission to erect a temple to Tiberius. Tralleis, Laodikeia, Ilion, and some others, were immediately rejected as too small, when the dispute was referred to the senate. Halikarnassos, Pergamon, Ephesos, and Miletos were passed over with greater hesitation; and finally, after setting aside Sardeis, the coveted honor fell to Smyrna. Kyzikos did not compete, as belonging in another province, although Strabo (575) says it was among the first cities of Asia. If the colonies be rated by larger districts, Lydia is found to have some 50 temples, Mysia 40, Karia 32. The rest of Asia Minor supplies 38, colonies north of the Black Sea 12, Thrace, Makedonia, and Epeiros 38.

In conclusion, it may be well to point out what seem to be the chief result of these statistics. The importance of Apollon, Artemis, and Athena is especially to be noticed; and, in comparison, the inferior position of Zeus, their nominal ruler, and of Hera, his queen. Outside of the twelve greater gods, Apollon's son Asklepios receives the most honor. Without laying stress on the exact number of temples in any district or town, it may be safely concluded that their distribution throws some general light on the obscure movements of the Greek people which took place after their loss of freedom.

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